

a race, the Chinese—despite all pious Western beliefs about their individuality—have so far manifested an extraordinary docility and conformity. Of course, it could be that they are orientally devious and that they are planning a cunning overthrow of their Red masters. But this, one suspects, is dangerous wishful thinking.

THE regime's real and haunting fear is still the age-old Chinese shadow of famine. It is conceivable that three or four years of bad harvests and natural disasters might topple the present rulers and that the army, reacting to

reports of starvation in the villages, might turn on the party. But even then no orderly system of democratic government would arise, shining and hopeful, from such a revolution of despair. Another anarchic period of misrule by warlords would probably ensue.

In China today there is a resurgent nationalism, a profound feeling that China is again becoming a world power. This patriotism—which is Chinese primarily and Communist only incidentally—is a significant counterweight to unorganized peasant irritation and to the vague menace of Shanghai. Chinese are not interested

unhappily, in the spiritual values which preoccupy liberal sentiment in the West. The peasant's philosophical and political horizon is understandably restricted to the rim of his rice bowl.

Finally, even with flaming discontent in China, it should not be taken for granted that Chiang Kai-shek would be hailed as a delivering savior in any comeback bid. China's intellectuals and Confucians may, as a nervous minority, value their vanished liberties, but even they have no particular reason to associate these liberties with Chiang's regime.

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CHINESE UNDERGOING VAST SOCIAL UPHEAVAL

New Communes Impose Regimen More Harsh Than in Soviet

By TILLMAN DUDNIN

Special to The New York Times

HONG KONG, Nov. 1.—The year 1958 has been one of the most extraordinary in the short annals of Communist government in China. In terms of drastic manipulation of the massive social and economic order of mainland China the Communist regime has this year engaged in an operation similar in its sweep and severity to its performance in redistributing land and liquidating the landlords and "counter-revolutionaries" in 1951-52.

The operation is the creation of an entirely new kind of organization for the masses, the People's Communes. Formed in the rural areas from a merger of the collective farms, the communes are a step toward a new form of Communist society more radical than any tried, even in Russia. The communes encompass from a few thousand to 20,000 households and range in area from a few square miles to the size of a small county in the United States. Only farmers are absorbed into communes, their collective farm shares and their small, individually-owned home plots are turned over to the communes, thus eliminating the last vestiges of private property in the Chinese countryside.

With Communist party members holding key positions, the communes will be run by administrative committees selected by members of commune congresses named in fully controlled elections.

Control All Life

Commune committees will direct every economic, social and political activity of the members, who for some communes number more than 100,000. Communes will manage the land, run the existing factories and build new ones, carry trade, banking and postal

services, operate schools, stores and welfare services, construct highways, irrigation systems, and electric power facilities.

Through a communal militia, members will be organized along military lines for work at their various tasks in groups similar to military formations.

Regulations for the "show-place" commune in Peking (Sputnik) Commune in Peking County, Honan, state that "citizens over 16 years old may be admitted as full members. Former landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and other persons deprived of political rights may be accepted as unofficial members."

No Withdrawal

There is no provision in the regulations for withdrawal from a commune. Members who turn over their shares in the former collective farms will receive no remuneration. Members who turn over their remnants of private property, such as animals, poultry, land at home, and small home plots of land, will be regarded as "investors" in the communes, but how they are to be compensated has not been made clear.

Although the new way of providing income for members has not yet been adopted by many communes, it is planned that all communes will institute a wage system instead of the present practice of collective farms by which peasants accumulate work points, receiving their equivalent in food and other rationed goods twice a year. Communal wages will be paid in money and in coupons that can be exchanged for food in communal mess halls.

The wage system will operate on the basis of "to each according to his labor" and according to his labor. Good workers and other places on an equal basis will get more in money wages. Peking claims that with the

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than those who produce less or manifold international aims and the more enthusiastic will re-muster the Communist leaders are providing meals and even more effective con- members, but in such cases for once and to be able to shift come out of the total share of the whatever tasks are most for contributing to the members given time. The Communist reports describe as "free."

Communal Eating

Many communes already have communal eating facilities and, as far as there are no signs of provide communal mess halls, food money. The Communists have these establishments.

Many communes are providing communal housing and, as far as they have been torn down on the land can be used for the historic role of the Communist party.

Many communes already have communal nurseries and boarding schools which will care for children, if not permanently at least for protracted periods. Clothes will be made in communal tailoring shops. There will be communal medical services, old age homes and ambulance stations.

Relieved of home tasks by communal facilities, tens of millions of women will be able to work full time in the fields, factories, offices, communal kitchens and other places on an equal basis. Peking claims that with the

establishment of the communes (communal units are to be introduced into urban as well as rural areas) Communist China is laying the groundwork for the pattern of Communist society prescribed by Marx and Lenin.

Nineteen-fifty-eight was under the year of the "great leap forward." Relatively moderate early targets for the first year of the second five-year plan have been successively raised until the objective has become one of doubling previous performances in every sphere of activity. The Chinese people are being worked as never before.

Communist China is in a desperate hurry to become a first-rank industrial and military power, capable in particular of challenging the United States, the hated nation that has refused recognition and is the

chief obstacle to Peking's international aims and the more enthusiastic will re-muster the Communist leaders are providing meals and even more effective con- members, but in such cases for once and to be able to shift come out of the total share of the whatever tasks are most for contributing to the members given time. The Communist reports describe as "free."

Easier to Dominate

The Communists doubtless also believe that the kind of regimented society they will have under the communes will make it easier for them to control. The far more effective resistance to the commune will be obtainable only through the Communist party. The Communists have these establishments.

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